

DCI

TOP SECRET [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

25X1

25X1

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
NATIONAL FOREIGN ASSESSMENT CENTER22 December 1981  
Information as of 1600SITUATION REPORT: POLAND

The regime continues to project an image of returning to "normalcy." The first announced meeting of the politburo took place today, and the military presence in Warsaw appears to have been reduced. The curfew in the Gdansk region has been shortened, and newspapers currently not being published apparently will reappear next Monday. According to a government spokesman, some internees have been released, with others to follow depending on how pacification proceeds. These all appear to be cultural figures, not Solidarity activists who might return to the factories in order to organize resistance. [REDACTED]

25X1

At the same time the Polish party's Central Committee is reporting a decline in strike activity, it notes that Solidarity has absorbed the initial shock of martial law and is now attempting to rebuild its structure. Union militants are reported to be active in Warsaw and several provinces and Solidarity banners are reappearing in some factories. [REDACTED]

25X1  
25X1  
25X1

25X1

The regime's press spokesman, who reiterated that Solidarity was only suspended, also claims that Walesa is conducting talks with representatives of the government. Although there is no other information to confirm this, Walesa apparently has been moved to Warsaw, perhaps to facilitate preliminary exchanges with the Church and the authorities. Until now Walesa has been adamant about not negotiating until the union's senior officials are freed. As recently as yesterday, Archbishop Glemp told the US Ambassador that Walesa was resisting talks. [REDACTED]

25X1

The government still faces some trouble spots. Three facilities in Katowice remain on strike--two mines where nearly 3,000 workers are still on strike and Huta Katowice where the Central Committee admitted today around 1,000 are on strike. A US embassy officer, observing the steel plant, noted that only

25X1

TOP SECRET

25X11

two of the eight smokestacks were emitting smoke. At the change of shifts in mid-afternoon, he saw only office workers coming out and no workers entering. The church is trying to mediate the confrontation in the mines. [ ] told a US embassy officer that he "hopes" the situation will end peacefully, although both the miners and police are "nervous." In Gdansk where shipyard workers have been told to stay home until 4 January, military crews apparently have replaced them. Industrial installations in other areas appear to be operating at a less than normal level. [ ]

25X1

25X1

Pope John Paul II's message to Jaruzelski Friday was an emotional appeal to end martial law and resolve the crisis through peaceful dialogue in order to avoid further bloodshed. The same message was sent to the Primate, Archbishop Glemp, and to Walesa. Bishop Dabrowski, who has been the Polish churchman most often in contact with regime officials, is currently in Rome, presumably giving the Pope an update on his mediating efforts. The Pope's appeal is likely to have a strong impact on Walesa and the Polish populace when it is publicized. [ ]

25X1

The regime has taken some steps to control future activities of the intelligensia, according to the consulate in Krakow. Offices of nearly all publications except the regime's have been sealed and the staffs given "vacation" until the end of the year. At that time they will be selectively "rehired." The government has asked various individuals, primarily professors, writers and priests to sign loyalty oaths. [ ]

25X1

Soviet forces in the western USSR and in Poland were seen conducting routine training activity today. This suggests that the Soviets are satisfied with the results of martial law in Poland and are not readying combat forces to move on Poland. [ ]

25X1

Combat elements of six divisions in the western USSR were seen overnight; only the one at Vladimir Volynskiy in the Carpathian Military District showed signs of increased activity. Most of the tanks in the tank regiment were seen out of their sheds. [ ]

25X1

In Poland, elements of a Soviet tank division were seen conducting routine training activity in their garrison and training areas. The other Soviet tank division in Poland probably was involved in training yesterday. [ ]

25X1

25X1

25X1

TOP SECRET

25X1

[REDACTED]

The Soviet ambassador to Mauritius, [REDACTED] told a leftist contact [REDACTED] that Lech Walesa was a "good socialist" who would make the decisions necessary for the good of his country. The remark of the Ambassador, who was presumably speaking in accord with official guidance, suggests that, at least on 17 December, the Soviets regarded Walesa as a potentially useful tool who could be employed to reshape Solidarity along the submissive lines of "official" Soviet unions. This Soviet assessment may have been shaken in the interim by Walesa's intractability. Nevertheless, the ambassador's remarks suggest that Moscow is encouraging the Poles to search for malleable figures among the arrested leaders of Solidarity. [REDACTED]

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

In a move apparently connected with the imposition of martial law, [REDACTED] the entire KGB department dealing with Poland was placed on alert and that officers had to be on call during off hours. The alert status presumably remains in effect. He also claimed that there was a "colossal" number of KGB personnel in Poland, including many "illegals" who worked under foreign cover to infiltrate Solidarity. Such an extensive network of informants and operatives might give Moscow a clearer picture of the situation on the ground in Poland and strengthen its ability in dealing with the regime. [REDACTED]

25X1

25X1

#### Eastern European Reaction

The media in the Warsaw pact states continue to stress a "gradual return to normalcy in Poland," but private reactions within the moderate Hungarian leadership are more pessimistic. The independent Yugoslavs are openly more critical of the Polish regime. [REDACTED]

25X1

An official Hungarian assessment of 18 December stressed that Jaruzelski's gamble may not work without some cooperation from Solidarity and that serious shortages could lead to a "popular uprising." The report, which preceded Kadar's visit to Moscow last weekend, suggested that the Soviets were not entirely

25X1

TOP SECRET

[redacted]

pleased that the military, rather than the party, was taking charge. Hungarians speculated, however, that Soviet leaders would accept "Polish army ascendancy" at least for the present rather than intervene. [redacted]

25X1

[redacted] expert in foreign affairs privately has expressed concern to us that intervention may be the only alternative in the long term. He said that Hungary is sympathetic to the Poles' plight and willing to send food. Budapest announced for the first time on 21 December that it had joined other socialist countries in sending food to Poland.

[redacted]

25X1

25X1

In Yugoslavia, there has been a steady erosion of the initial tone of guarded understanding for the Polish military's seizure of power. On 18 December, Stane Dolanc, an influential member of the party leadership, decried the Polish military takeover as a precedent that "could have grave consequences for Poland, the international workers movement and international relations in general." Since Warsaw admitted that there had been bloodshed, the Yugoslav media has been even more pessimistic, focusing on the lack of a "political dialogue" in Poland and the failure of the Polish Party to meet the Polish workers' appeals for "socialist renewal." [redacted]

25X1

25X1